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JUNE MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., Mr. LORD in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Mrs. Edward M. Williams, of Northfield, Minnesota, an account book of her grandfather Levi Tinkham, of Middleboro', 1812 and 1819, and his diary kept in 1831.

From the estate of Miss Elizabeth Seaver, of Lexington, a letter of Rev. William Emerson to her grandmother, Abigail Whitney, September 1, 1790.

From Miss Annie S. Harlow, of Philadelphia, some Harlow family papers connected with Massachusetts history, 1788-1920, also two volumes of records of the Cambridge Franklin Debating Society, 1827 to 1831, and a volume of records of the Cambridgeport Debating Society from 1834 to 1836.

From Miss Cecilia F. Merkel, autograph signatures of John Tyler, Ambrose E. Burnside, George G. Meade, and Charles Kean.

From Miss Elizabeth Tracy Crehore, Crehore papers, 1669-1915, relating to Milton, Mass., and the family history.

From Miss Kate Jackson, of Newton, by deposit, Holman papers, Salem, 1745-1829; a diary with entries of vital records kept by Samuel Holman, 1774-1854; and a diary of David King (1704-1790), Salem, 1730-1767.

By purchase, a manuscript essay on "Old Houses," in Boston, written probably by Edmund Quincy (H. C. 1827), signed "Y. D." and dated at Boston, 1837. Following this in the same volume are five chapters, pages from the *American Monthly Magazine*, 1837, with the title "An Octogenary, fifty years since," signed also "Y. D." The book contains the autograph signature of Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, who is authority for the authorship by an Edmund Quincy.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Miss Elise Bordman Richards, a large Liverpool-ware pitcher bearing the likeness of Benjamin Franklin and on the op-

posite side the words: "Benj" Franklin Esq. LL.D. & F.R.S. The brave Defender of his Country Against Oppression of Taxation without Representation; Author of the Greatest Discovery in Natural Philosophy since those of Sir Isaac Newton viz. That Lightning is the same with the Electric Fire." Miss Richards also gave a card receiver made from wood of the Frigate *Constitution*.

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, a photograph of Dr. John Brown, author of "Rab and his Friends," with his autograph signature, and an engraving of Sebastian Cabot by S. Rawle, and other engravings.

From Thomas G. Frothingham, a photograph of his grandfather Richard Frothingham, historian, and treasurer of the Society for thirty years.

From Mrs. Otis Norcross, a five-dollar bill, Bank of the United States, Providence Branch, 1833.

From C. W. Davis, of Dorchester, a Virginia bill of fifty dollars.

From Grenville H. Norcross, a collection of eighty-three bills of Boston banks.

By exchange, 122 bills of broken banks and Confederate States money, also ten Massachusetts medals and store cards.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that the Hon. Elihu Root and himself represented the Society at the unveiling of the tablets in the Hall of Fame, New York, May 21, erected to the memory of three Massachusetts historians, Bancroft, Motley, and Parkman.

William Cameron Forbes, of Norwood, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

It was voted that the thanks of the Society be given to Mr. Charles Stearns for his long and faithful services, as assistant to the Librarian, of twenty-one years, since July, 1899.

The VICE-PRESIDENT announced the death of our associate Charles Pickering Bowditch, and said:

Charles Pickering Bowditch, born in West Roxbury, September 30, 1842, graduated at Harvard College in the Class of 1863, was elected a Resident Member of this Society on November 9, 1899, and died on June 1, 1921.

He was present often at meetings in the last nine years, and occasionally at earlier meetings, so that his average attendance was more than one-half of the number during his whole membership. His interest in the Society was further shown through his gifts from time to time of valuable manuscripts,

broadsides, and medals, and the deposit in behalf of his niece of the bronze casts of the life mask and hands of Abraham Lincoln. Among his communications were documents relating to Negro Seamen in the South in 1842 and '43, to slavery, and to the fight between the *Chesapeake* and the *Shannon*; and on several occasions he entered into the discussions at the meetings. The Society aided him in reproducing by photostat a number of MSS. in the native languages of Mexico and Central America, being part of an extensive series which he reproduced for the Peabody Museum in Harvard University, and which will stand as his chief contribution among many to the study of American archæology.

Mr. STOREY then said:

Charles Pickering Bowditch was a Massachusetts citizen of the finest type, and the vigorous stocks from which he drew his blood lost in him nothing of their strength, but rather gained added distinction from the generation of which he was an active member. He was a pillar of the state, a man on whom his fellow-citizens leaned and to whom they turned for service requiring probity, vigor, and judgment. By profession a trustee, he was placed in charge of many estates, and was the adviser and comforter of many who relied upon his counsel. He was a director of many business corporations, such as the Boston and Providence Railroad Company, the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company and various manufacturing companies upon whose boards were found only men of character and established reputation for wisdom. When the American Bell Telephone Company was formed and began its work of revolutionizing communication between men by introducing in a field already fully occupied a new invention of amazing possibilities, he was called to its councils and as director and vice-president was a powerful factor in helping it to meet the many difficulties which it encountered, and to surmount them triumphantly. Through the interests which he represented and by his influence as a director in so many corporations, he contributed largely to the proper conduct of business in Boston during the many active years of his life, and had he done nothing else he would have gained high respect and regard from the best in this com-

munity. This, however, was by no means the only field in which he won honor.

Entering Harvard in the class of 1863, and receiving his degree with his classmates, he left Cambridge before his Commencement and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Fifty-Fifth Massachusetts Regiment in May 1863. Before the end of June he had been promoted to be a captain in that regiment. This was one of the first colored regiments, and it was then a question whether the colored troops would make good soldiers. Our late President, Mr. Adams, expressed the feeling of many when in writing to his brother he said: "As to being made soldiers, they are more harm than good. It will be years before they can be made to stand before their old masters . . . It won't pay and the idea of arming the blacks as soldiers must be abandoned." Bowditch faced the risks, which were serious in view of the attitude adopted by the Confederates towards colored troops and their officers, and continued to serve in the Fifty-Fifth and afterward as captain in the Fifth Massachusetts Cavalry, also a colored regiment, until he was discharged for disability contracted in the service.

Mr. Adams, always open-minded, lived to change his views and to ride through Richmond after its surrender at the head of the very colored cavalry regiment in which Bowditch had been a captain and which Adams then commanded. The interest in the negroes' future, which led Bowditch to render this service endured to the end and was shown by many generous contributions in aid of the education and uplift of the race.

While he never held or sought political office, he took a keen interest in public affairs and was always ready to support good government. When the prevailing corruption in politics led to the formation of the Commonwealth Club with Judge Hoar as its President and Richard Olney as a Vice-President, he was one of its early members, and when the nomination of Mr. Blaine split the Republican party he was among the first to join the Committee of one hundred that was formed to oppose Mr. Blaine's election, and was active in its work, giving freely of his time and his money. He always helped the cause of Civil Service Reform and in a word was one on whom the friends of good objects could always count.

His active mind, backed by great physical vigor, led him in many directions. He took an especial interest in archæology and ethnology and not only read and wrote much on archæological subjects, but conducted personal researches in Yucatan, seeking the relics of the Maya civilization. He published the results of his studies in several pamphlets, the titles of which indicate into what detail he pushed his inquiries, for we find one entitled "Memoranda on the Maya Calendars used in the Books of Chilan Balam" and another which discusses the question "Was the Beginning Day of the Maya month numbered Zero (or Twenty) or One?" He was the President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and took an active interest in its work. He made important contributions to the Peabody Museum, and the list of societies devoted to various branches of learning of which he was a member proves the catholicity of his interest.

He had moreover a distinct taste for lighter literature, and has left in the library of this society evidence of his standing among the poets of his time, which makes it the more surprising that, conservative in many respects as he was, he came to advocate the theory that Bacon wrote "Hamlet" and "Macbeth" as well as the other works of the same author. He travelled much in Europe, Asia, and in North America, and extended his journeys to Northern Africa. In short he found life full of varied interests and opportunities for usefulness and pleasure, and he rejoiced to use them freely.

He was a man of great courage, high principle, unbending integrity, and strong character. His views on most questions were decided and he was ready to maintain them, rather enjoying than shrinking from discussion. He was impetuous of speech, and at times may have seemed dogmatic, especially to opponents of like temper, but he was a kindly, warm-hearted, affectionate man who to the end retained to an unusual degree the spirit of a boy, keenly enjoying the humorous side of life and the pleasures of cultivated society, to which he always contributed his full share. He was happy in his marriage and in his family, and his life was spent in an atmosphere of affection and refinement which maintained the best traditions of New England. The community which has known him, relied upon him and looked up to him for so many years, and the intimate

friends who have loved him will feel his loss deeply, even though they may be glad that the end came while life was still pleasant and he had not known the sadness of decay. We may say of him what the Psalmist teaches us to consider the crown of a life well lived, "The end of that man is peace."

Mr. MORISON read a paper on

THE CUSTOM-HOUSE RECORDS IN MASSACHUSETTS, AS A
SOURCE OF HISTORY

Last year, in communicating to the Society an account of the industrial development of Massachusetts between 1815 and 1840, I took occasion to comment upon the neglect of this field by historians, the lack of proper histories of manufacturing towns, or of our older manufacturing corporations, which could easily be written from their records. For the past year, my efforts have been directed toward throwing some light on the maritime history of Massachusetts, the story of her fisheries and sea-borne commerce from the Revolution to the Civil War. In this field, I have found a similar lack of preparatory work, and on most aspects of it have had to undertake original research myself in order to produce anything of value.

The source material for this maritime history falls into three main classes:

(1) The newspapers, including journals which specialized in commerce, like the *Boston Price Current* (1795-98), *Russell's Gazette* (1798-1800), *Boston Gazette* (1800-15), *Commercial Gazette* (1817-35), *P. P. F. Degrand's Boston Weekly Report* (1819-27), and *Boston Shipping List and Price Current* (1843-82).¹ But these record only the maritime activities of Boston. Few newspapers were published in the smaller seaports of Massachusetts, and such as there were, gave little information on maritime affairs beside entrances and clearances.²

¹ For bibliography of these journals, and their various titles, see Clarence S. Brigham's "Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820," in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society, n. s., xv, part I (April, 1915). The best file of the Degrand paper is in the Boston Athenæum; the only complete file of the Shipping List is in the Boston Marine Museum at the Old State House.

² Exception should be made of the *Salem Gazette*, for the Federalist period, the *New Bedford Whalemens's Shipping List*, which began publication in 1843, and earlier New Bedford papers.

(2) Ms. records of merchants and shipping firms, including letter-books, accounts, and ledgers. With these might be included ships' log-books and sea journals, which were usually retained by the individuals who made them. Our Society, the Essex Institute, the Beverly Historical Society, the Harvard College Library, and the New Bedford Public Library all contain valuable collections of this class of material; but the greater part of it is still in private hands, subject to loss or destruction either by fire, or — sad to relate — by deliberate act of the descendants of our great merchants. In my paper in last October's *Proceedings*, on Boston's trade with the Hawaiian Islands, I used the Suter, the Marshall, the Hunnewell, and the Bryant and Sturgis mss., all of this class.

(3) The records of our federal and state courts, and probate records. This class of material I have barely touched, but can see from Sprague's *Reports* of cases before the United States District Court at Boston, that it must contain information of great value, resulting from lawsuits and other controversies. The records of the federal courts at Boston, when last I dipped into them, were tucked away in a corner of the Boston Post-Office building.

(4) The Custom-house records, which I have found the most important existing source for commerce, fishing, shipping and shipbuilding, since 1789. Yet they seem almost completely to have escaped the attentions of historians.¹ Nowhere else can so nearly complete a record of the maritime activities of a given customs district be obtained. The "Impost Books," or "Abstracts of Duties," list every vessel arriving from foreign ports, with cargo, consignees, and duties paid. The clearance papers do the same for exports. The coastwise manifests and drawback books enable one to trace the distribution of these cargoes, and the methods of neutral trading in Napoleonic times. Half an hour's study of the "Abstract of Drawbacks" at the Plymouth custom house threw more

¹ Almost the only printed works or articles that show any evidence of the author making use of this class of material are Osgood and Batchelder, *History of Salem*; Benjamin L. Lindsey, *Old Marblehead Sea Captains and the Ships in which they Sailed* (Marblehead Historical Society, 1915); Edmund Pomeroy Collier, *Deep Sea Captains of Cohasset* (privately printed), A. Frank Hitchings and Stephen W. Phillips, *Ship Registers of Salem and Beverly* (Essex Institute, 1906), and Alexander Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery* (1878).

light on what actually went on, in the troublous years of 1805-07, than all my previous study of laws, statistics, British Orders in Council, and Napoleonic decrees. The crew lists show how our vessels were manned, and might well interest the genealogist and sociologist as well as the historian. The collectors' letter books contain much incidental information of value. The bounty lists give in accurate detail the statistics of our codfisheries, and the registry, enrollment and license books preserve the names, dimensions, descriptions, and ownership of the vessels that made the name of Massachusetts famous in every part of the world, as well as the humbler but no less necessary coasters and fishermen.

Such custom-house records as I have examined, with the exception of those in Salem, bear witness to the neglect and dilapidation that are the common lot of government archives in the United States. There is no reason to suppose that the archives of customs districts in other states are in any better state of preservation. In only a few of the greater seaports does the federal government possess a fireproof building with adequate storage space, and facilities for investigators. Many of the smaller customs districts have been suppressed, and their records destroyed or dispersed. As the movement of concentration in the larger seaports continues, it is likely that other districts will be suppressed in the future. The care of such archives seems a legitimate duty of local and state historical societies. I hope that these brief notes may serve to call the attention of such organizations to this important but neglected class of historical source-material at their very doors. For, although the maritime history of Massachusetts, by reason of our Commonwealth's pre-eminence in codfishing, whaling, and shipbuilding, is more rich and varied than that of any other state, Massachusetts is by no means the only state or section with a maritime history worth recounting. The Maine coast, a nursery of seamen and small craft; Narragansett Bay, the home of pirates, smugglers, and slave traders; Long Island Sound, with its dozens of small whaling and trading ports; New York, the greatest American seaport since 1789 for volume and value of deep-sea commerce; Delaware Bay; Chesapeake Bay, where the famous clipper type originated; Charleston, long the leading place for cotton export and her rivals Mobile and Pensa-

cola; New Orleans, once the only gateway to the Mississippi Valley; and the great seaports of the Pacific Coast; all have a distinctive maritime history which must be studied in detail before much-needed histories of American shipbuilding and commerce can be written.

There follows a rough inventory of the custom-house records in Massachusetts, by customs districts.

NEWBURYPORT. The records of this district, which included all ports on the Merrimac River, were turned over, on its suppression, to the Historical Society of Old Newbury, which stores them in its wooden building on High Street, Newburyport, open only in the summer months.¹ They appear to be reasonably complete, both as to bound books and loose papers.

GLOUCESTER. Not having investigated the records of this port, I shall quote from a report on them by the present Deputy Collector, communicated to me by Mr. E. Perry, special deputy collector of the Port of Boston, who has aided my search in many ways:

The records at this office that may be readily consulted go back to the eighteen forties, fifties, sixties, etc., as indicated by the following two or three examples: Import book 1832; Warehouse ledger 1867; Daily record of money 1870; Vessel admeasurement 1870; Enrolments 1830; Registers 1846.

Earlier records have been put into boxes, without regard to kind, and carried to the attic and have collected dust for many years. From among the latter there were taken some years ago all records that would give evidence for "French Claims" and sent to Washington, and have not been returned. Without some days of sorting very dusty records it is now almost impossible to tell just what is left in the attic.

BEVERLY. Beverly was combined with Salem as a port of registry and entry in 1789, and her records after that date are

¹ Typical of the attitude of the educated public historian toward custom-house records is the report of the Secretary of this society, in its *List of Officers, Reports*, etc., for 1912-13. After recording this important acquisition, she remarks "the local field was so assiduously cultivated by our real historians . . . that the ground has become a bit exhausted." Yet the story of the fishing, commerce, and shipbuilding of Newburyport, once the third seaport in the Commonwealth, remains to be written!

in the Salem custom house. But the Beverly Historical Society possesses what is probably a unique set of customs records for the period 1780-89, when the customs service was under the state government. These records have been carefully mounted and bound, and are preserved in a fireproof safe in the old Cabot mansion, the home of the Beverly Historical Society. They are open to investigators, by appointment, in the summer months.

SALEM. Luckily the recent newspaper rumor of the burning of the Salem custom house was false. The records of the port of Salem and Beverly are intact, and open to investigators. In bulk and in value, they are by far the most important in Massachusetts. Yet they have been very little used. Numerous books have been written about Salem commerce and shipping, but the writers have largely confined themselves to the materials in the Essex Institute, and in private hands. No time should be lost before making a comprehensive investigation of Salem's maritime activities, from these primary sources, for the custom-house is not fireproof, and is in the neighborhood of highly inflammable buildings.

MARBLEHEAD. This port also possesses custom-house records in an excellent state of preservation, in the new and fire-proof postoffice building. They have been used only for compiling a list of Marblehead shipmasters. Nothing has been written about Marblehead's extensive commerce with the West Indies, South America, Africa, Europe, and the Far East between the Revolution and 1830. Indeed, Roads's *History of Marblehead* gives the impression that fishing was the only maritime activity of that port after 1775.

When the customs office was transferred to the new building, a mass of records for which there was no room, was disposed of to dealers. A part has found its way into the Essex Institute, Salem.

BOSTON. Almost all the customs records of our greatest seaport were destroyed by fire in 1893. The exceptions are some of the collectors' letter-books (among which H. A. S. Dearborn's, during the War of 1812, is interesting), and the registries of vessels. These are now accessible on the fifth floor of the custom house; excepting the registries for 1789-1802, which were sent to Washington some years ago to aid in determining the

French spoliation claims,¹ Boston has the indexes for this period, giving names, tonnage, and ownership of vessels, but not their dimensions or builders. A recent request to the Department of Commerce, Washington, for details on such famous Boston ships as the *Columbia*, received the reply that a fire the *previous evening* had damaged or destroyed many of the records, and the Department was unable to say whether the Boston registries were saved or not.

For the colonial period, some of the records of the Royal Commissioners of Customs, whose headquarters were at Boston, are in the cabinet of this society, forming a part of the Temple-Bowdoin papers. In the collector's office at the Boston custom house is a vellum-bound letter-book of the last royal collector. This volume was discovered some years ago doing duty as hotel register at "Ye Ferncroft Inn." It had also been used as an account-book in a Salem shop. When excavating for records in the basement of the Plymouth custom house, I there discovered two volumes of colonial records of the port of Boston. The one recorded over a thousand entries in the year 1773, from other ports in the Province of Massachusetts-Bay. The other, which had also been used for subsequent Plymouth records, contained a list of clearances from Boston for Great Britain, in 1773-74.

PLYMOUTH. I found that all loose papers for the period before the Civil War have been destroyed, but that all bound books were transferred to the new quarters in the post-office building. There being no place for them in the one room at the Collector's disposal, they are stacked up in a corner of the cellar, without order or arrangement. I managed to excavate most of the older books, and found in them most interesting and valuable material for the activities of this once busy seaport. Of Plymouth's many historians, not one appears to have shown the slightest interest in, or even knowledge of, these important records.

BARNSTABLE. According to the best available information at the Boston custom house, the records of this district, which included the whole of Cape Cod, were forwarded to the New

¹ Correspondence with the Departments of the Treasury and of Commerce at Washington failed to elicit any information on the present whereabouts of these books of ship registers.

Bedford custom house when the district was suppressed, several years ago. The Boston custom house, however, contains an interesting record of ship registries of this district, from 1801 through 1809, in the handwriting of Joseph Otis, collector of the port at that period. A number of early circular letters from the Secretaries of the Treasury, and some fragments of correspondence, are preserved in the same place. The bulk of the Barnstable records would be a most valuable source for the fishing industry of Cape Cod. All fishing vessels had to be enrolled or licensed at the custom house, and for bounty-granting purposes a complete record of their crews, voyages, and catches had to be kept.

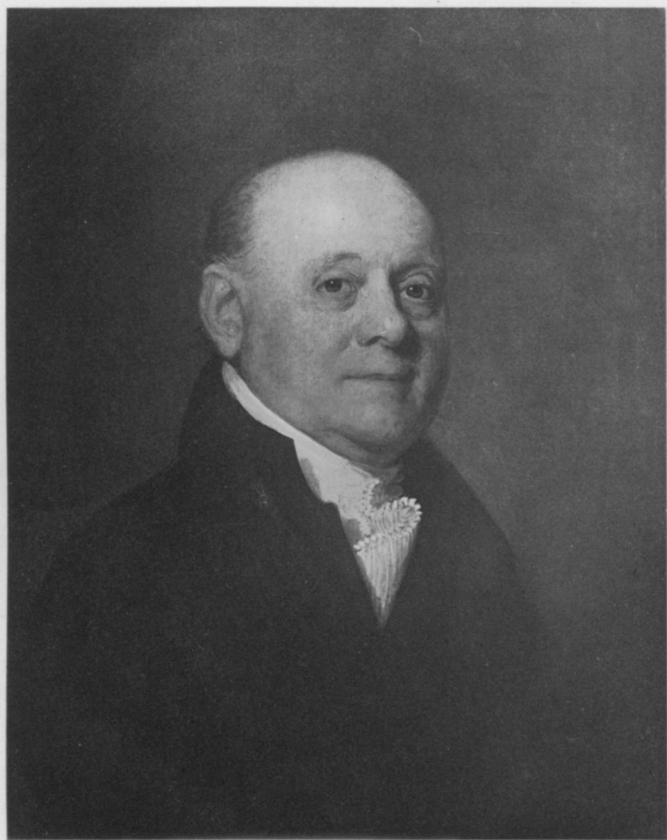
NEW BEDFORD. The following note from the Deputy Collector to the Special Deputy Collector of Boston, is the only information I have regarding the records of this district, which included Fairhaven and most of the western side of Buzzard's Bay:

"In reply to your letter of the 26 ultimo with regard to the records of this Office I have to inform you that they do not go back to 1789 a great part of the records having been destroyed by a fire which occurred sometime previous to 1837."

A study of these records would probably throw considerable light on the distribution of whaling products, an aspect of the whaling industry which has been neglected by the many writers on that subject. They have already been utilized in the preparation of Starbuck's *Whale Fishery*.

NANTUCKET. A note from the Curator and Librarian of the Nantucket Historical Association informs me that when this customs district was suppressed, its records were sent to New Bedford. A part, however, found their way to the Boston custom house. Here may be consulted four interesting volumes containing lists of the crews of Nantucket whalers from 1818 to 1835, when Nantucket whaling was at its height. The Nantucket Registry of Vessels for 1856-64, and several bundles of vessels' enrolments and licenses, are kept in the same place.

EDGARTOWN. The records of this customs district, which included Martha's Vineyard and the Elizabeth Islands, are now in the Boston custom house. They include registries, etc., of vessels, and crew lists from 1819; and entries from 1847. Although this district had no great commerce of its own, Vineyard Haven was a favorite port of refuge for vessels approach-



MHS

Ward Chipman
From a portrait by Gilbert Stuart

ing Boston or New York from South America and the far East, as well as for coasting craft. As all vessels remaining forty-eight hours in a port were obliged to enter at the custom house, the Edgartown records are of considerable importance for the movement of shipping.

Mr. EDWARD GRAY presented a paper on

WARD CHIPMAN, LOYALIST.

Ward Chipman, "Chip" as his friends called him, was the son of Hon. John Chipman and Elizabeth Brown. His grandfather, Rev. John Chipman, graduated at Harvard in 1711, and was, for many years, pastor of the Second Church at Beverly; his son, Hon. John Chipman, graduated at Harvard in 1738, was a lawyer and lived at Marblehead; he died, in 1768, of a stroke of apoplexy, while arguing a case before the Superior Court at Falmouth, now Portland, Maine. Hon. John Chipman married Elizabeth Brown, daughter of Rev. John Brown of Haverhill and Joanna Cotton, a great-granddaughter of Rev. John Cotton of Boston. Their fifth child, Ward, was born at Marblehead on July 30, 1754, and graduated at Harvard in 1770, where his social position placed him sixth in a class of thirty-four students. While he was attending college his father died, and the following letter, written to Jonathan Sewall in August, 1775, explains his intimacy with the Sewall family, which undoubtedly proved a deciding factor in determining which side he should take in the issue that was fast approaching:

August 2, 1775.

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I had the misfortune to lose a kind Father, when my academical education was scarce half compleated; my prospects were then truly distressing. Unable to remain at College, too young to undertake any business, unwilling to descend to the lowest offices of life, I knew not how to turn nor where to look. I had no claim to the support of my friends, it was not in my power to provide for myself; my friends assisted me but my expences, though sparingly incurred, exceeded their munificence. At that critical time I experienced an instance of your friendship in your generous contribution and the collection you made from the other Gentlemen of the Bar, which raised me from a very disagreeable situation to ease and temporary inde-

pendence. I was thereby enabled to answer the demands made upon me and finish my studies with credit.

My inclinations were early turned to the study and practice of law; my circumstances forbade the hope of prosecuting a plan of this kind and obliged me to think of another way of life far from agreeable. You then unsolicited sought out my difficulties and at once removed them and without the least prospect of compensation undertook my maintenance and instruction. I have ever found in you an assiduity to benefit, help and instruct me equal to which many children never experienced from their own Parents, greater none. Sure I am that had my own Father lived it would not have been in his power to provide so well for me. I have and ever shall feel an attachment to your family as strong and real as that which arises from the ties of natural affection.

I am fully sensible of the disinterested benevolence which must have actuated your conduct, and it is now become a duty I owe to you as well as to myself to labor to deserve it. . . . I am not unmindful of the inconveniences to which you have submitted by receiving me into your family. The trifling advantage I have been to your children I could wish had been greater. What they have reaped is to be attributed more to their own docility than any labors of mine. If however your intended removal to Halifax takes place, I will gladly attend to their instruction till that time if agreeable.

With you I have passed the happiest part of my life, and it is with great reluctance that I think of removing. . . .

This week I became of age — this week I am entering upon a new course of life. The wide world is now before me, my cares and concerns will increase with my years. You have discovered yourself to be a father and a friend to me. I hope my behaviour has not been such as to forfeit your esteem and that I may not hereafter prove unworthy of it. Every possible opportunity to serve you I shall gladly improve and in every instance in my power, command me. It will for the present be impossible for me to make any compensation to you for your kind assistance and support. As my abilities will admit I shall be mindful of my obligations and endeavour in some measure to discharge them, though I could wish you would now receive some legal acknowledgement of them which may be security in case of accident or misfortune. . . .¹

Some years later, he was able in some measure to repay this kindness, when Mr. Sewall's two sons, Jonathan and Stephen, studied law in his office.

¹ *The New Brunswick Magazine*, III. 183.

As the above letter shows, after leaving college, he studied law in the office of Jonathan Sewall, Attorney General of Massachusetts, and lived in his family, and in September, 1774, he was active in assisting in the defence of Judge Sewall's house at Cambridge, when it was violently attacked by a mob. Compelled to flee to the protection of the King's troops at Boston, he took up the practice of law there, and was employed in the office of Daniel Leonard. He was one of the eighteen "Gentlemen who were driven from their Habitations in the Country to the Town of Boston" who signed a loyal address to Governor Gage on his departure from that town on October 14, 1775. Remaining in Boston during the siege, he suffered all the hardships due to lack of food and fuel, but continued to practise his profession, and was also clerk solicitor in the custom house, which position he held at the time of the evacuation of the town by the British in March, 1776. He went to Halifax with the King's troops and from thence to England, where Thomas Hutchinson writes under June 12, 1776: "Lt. Gov. Oliver, Col^o Hatch, and George Erving, M^r. Chipman, etc., called upon me: all from Halifax."¹

Before leaving Massachusetts, he assigned what property he had to his mother and sisters who remained behind, and later, during the period when he was stationed at New York, he managed to transmit to them money toward their support.

In less than a year, the state of inactivity in England on a pension began to pall upon him. He relinquished his pension and joined the King's troops at New York, where he was appointed Deputy Muster Master General of His Majesty's Provincial Forces, in 1777, by Sir William Howe, and was employed in the practice of the Court of Admiralty. He received five shillings per day for his services as Deputy Muster Master General, in 1777,² and held this position until the close of the war.

The British must have felt very secure in their position on Long Island, and neglected to post guards, or else their opponents were kept very well informed and were extremely enter-

¹ *Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson*, II. 66.

² *Winslow Papers*, 1776-1826, 18. The index to this volume does not refer to many letters to and from Ward Chipman, and possibly the same may be true in regard to the letters of other people.

prising, as Chipman's letters of this period contain frequent mention of raids made in his vicinity by the Continental troops, in one of which he and some others escaped capture by mere chance. To quote Edward Winslow:

June 22nd, 1788.

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On my return from Philadelphia I removed my quarters from the Valley of Hadad to the house where Gen'l Howe's Head Quarters were, in New Utrecht Town. On the 13th inst. about 12 at night a party of rebels (supposed to be about 25) landed directly below my house, marched up the street, reconnoitered and as we imagine satisfy'd themselves that I was at home, but as their principal object was Flat Bush and an alarm might be the consequence of an attempt on me, they passed on to the houses of Major Moncreiffe and Mr. Bache, both of whom they made prisoners and carried off. They also attacked the Mayor's house near Flat-Bush Church, but he luckily heard 'em early enough to take possession of his garret to which there was no entrance but a trap door. A musket fired in the town just at the time alarmed 'em and induced 'em to desist. On their return a small party were detached from their road, which was about 200 yards from my house. Most happily I had a number of my friends about me. Daniel Murray, Mr. Upham, Parson Panton, Mr. Chipman and myself were very socially sitting round my table with the windows open. Whether our appearance was too formidable or whether they suspected from our being up at so late an hour that we were ready for 'em — or what was the cause, God knows, the fact is that they civilly omitted calling and until 8 o'clock in the morning I did not hear or suspect that anything of the kind had or could have happened. You may imagine that a small effusion of gratitude succeeded the intelligence. Not a single charge of powder or ball had I in my house. It is perhaps the most extraordinary circumstance that ever took place. A party of men to land in a clear evening, pass five miles in a public road by a great number of houses, enter a town, take two of the principal inhabitants and return and embark unmolested — is not it a pleasant telling story!" . . .¹

In another letter he says: "Guess if I did not feel desperate queerly. The Mayor saved himself by a trap door. Chip is determined to cut one at my house and I suppose the example will be followed by the neighbors, so that whenever there's an

¹ *Winslow Papers*, 28.

alarm all the Inhabitants will be bobbing up and down like Coons and Neo in 'Nid & Nod'." ¹

At this period Ward Chipman seems to have been too apt to jump at conclusions, and too sanguine in giving credit to vague reports without making sure whether their source was reliable or not, and, in one instance, this failing led him to report in New York that he had seen the French fleet off Sandy Hook, when in reality it was a squadron of the British fleet. ²

In 1782, his income amounted to near £500 per annum, but he did not manage to save anything and Jonathan Sewell ³ writes him:

BRISTOL, April 22, 1782.

You tell me your income is near £500 per annum and yet you lay up nothing. Permit my friendship to suggest that at your time of life you ought out of that sum to be laying up something. I know the unbounded generosity of your disposition, but believe me the most generous when at the top of the hill of life do not always look back with complacency and self-approbation. Prudent economy is a virtue which takes rank above profuse generosity. . . . Look around us as far as your acquaintance with mankind extends and you will find estates have been saved rather than gotten. . . . ⁴

Towards the end of the war he realized it would probably be impossible for him to stay in the United States and he wrote Edward Winslow, who was on the St. John River:

July 29th, 1783.

It's now next to a certainty almost that we shall be all away from here this fall; I cannot yet determine which way to steer, much will depend upon the intelligence I receive from you and your advice. Should Sir Guy [Carleton] go to Nova Scotia I shall inevitably go there too, or if I am like to forfeit any considerable advantage by not being there this winter I certainly will go. Few, very few, will remain here. Nova Scotia is the rage, petitions are daily going in from very respectable people to the Commander in Chief for lands, etc. Blowers with his family mean to embark in the course of the next month for Halifax, and I think it very probable your father and family will go with him. Your mother is arrived and in health and spirits as indeed they all are.

¹ *Winslow Papers*, 30.

² *Ib.*, 32.

³ From about this date this name is spelt Sewell.

⁴ *Winslow Papers*, 76.

Keep a look out for me with respect to lands if you can and let me know what is to be done on my part. To have as many strings to my Bow as I could I have signed a petition with Col. Willard and others to the Com'r in Chief.¹ My anxiety increases every day, all business being at an end, I find myself running behindhand very fast every day, for my d—d mode of living is as expensive as ever. . . .²

A few days later he wrote to Winslow: "I signed the Petition but have since found several names upon the list which do not comport with my ideas of the business at all. I shall of course decline any further concern in the matter, relying upon your having it in your power to provide much better for me in your arrangements than can be done in any other way."³

It was probably between the receipt of news that peace had been signed, and November 25, 1783, when the British evacuated New York, that he made a visit to Salem and Newport,⁴ but he made his headquarters with the army at New York until the evacuation took place, of which event he wrote Edward Winslow as follows:

ON BOARD THE "TRYAL" OFF STATEN ISLAND,

Nov'r. 29th, 1783.

MY DEAR WINSLOW, — I have already written to you previous to the Evacuation of New York, but have received when ashore today at Staten Island your letters of the 9th and 15th inst., for which I thank you very much. I have been a witness to the mortifying scene of giving up the City of New York to the American Troops. About 12 o'clock on Tuesday the 25th inst., all our Troops were paraded on the wide ground before the Provost, where they remained till the Americans about 1 o'clock marched in thro' Queen-Street and Wall-Street to the Broad-way, when they wheeled off to the hay-wharf and embarked immediately and fell down to Staten Island. I walked out and saw the American Troops under General

¹ He thus became one of what are known as the "Fifty-five" petitioners for lands in Nova Scotia. They claimed that they were justly entitled to the same allowance as field officers, i.e., 5,000 acres each, in consideration of their special services and the importance of their former positions in society. The other Loyalists at New York naturally resented any such claim for special consideration, and in consequence of their protests the scheme fell through.

² *Winslow Papers*, III.

³ *Ib.*, II5.

⁴ He kept a diary of this visit, from which Mr. George Champlin Mason quotes in *Reminiscences of Newport*, 250, 369. At present this diary cannot be found.

Knox march in, and was one of the last on shore in the City; it really occasioned most painful sensations and I tho't Sir Guy, who was upon parade, looked unusually dejected. The particular account of the business of the day you will find in the news-papers which I have enclosed to Blowers. I have passed two days since in the City to which I returned upon finding all was peace and quiet. A more shabby ungentleman-like looking crew than the new Inhabitants are I never saw, tho' I met with no insult or molestation. The Council for sixty days, which is invested with supreme authority for that term, is sitting; what will be determined by them is uncertain, many are apprehensive of violent and severe measures against individuals. I paid my respects to Generals Knox and Jackson, the latter is Commandant of the City; they received me very politely. I had the satisfaction also of seeing General Washington, who is really a good looking genteel fellow. Scarce any of our friends or any man of respectability remains at New York, they are principally embarked for England. I am now on board ship for the voyage. We have a good set — Col. Drummond who is 'very civil, friendly and polite to me; Fred Philips, who is as good a fellow as ever (I wish you had mentioned him particularly in your letter for he really loves you); Gilfillan whose facetious character you know, a Mr. Sinclair in the civil branch of ordnance, Capt. Reid and two subalterns of the Royal Artillery, 8 in all and I assure you we make ourselves very cheerful. We expect to sail by Tuesday next.

My prospects in going to England are upon the whole as favorable as I expected. I have as I mentioned to you, the whole business of the board of claims committed to my management, and I am not a little pleased to find that Harrison, who resigned his seat at the board some time before we left New York, obtained a warrant from Com'r in Chief for 20s stg. per day for the time he belonged to it. I think I shall be able to plead this precedent when I have finished the business. Sir Guy has given me a letter of introduction and recommendation to Lord North. Thompson, who means to pass the winter upon the Continent of Europe, writes me he has left a very particular recommendation and introduction for me to Lord Sackville, so that upon the whole I live in hopes of going to Halifax next year with a bold face. I consider the present by far the most important period of my life, and am determined to exert every faculty to get myself forward. I shall most anxiously expect the letter you promise me by Gen'l F[ox.] I have been explicit, be you so also in communicating your views, hopes and prospects. I need not repeat to you that your welfare and happiness is equally dear to me as my own; my principal anxiety is for us to get together again with some chosen friends and I think we should be happy in a desert.

I immediately communicated your letters and enclosures relative to Cochran and Little Weeks to Mr. Watson and Major Upham. Coffin this day tells me the business is satisfactorily settled for both. Greet Mr. Weeks for me and in my name, he is a worthy good Fellow and I both love and esteem him.

I intreat you my dear Ned let me know by every opportunity how you are and what is going forward in Nova Scotia. I shall not lose sight of that as my determined place of resort and shall of course be very anxious to know all the particulars about the settlements, locations, etc., etc.

To Tom Coffin, indisputably the very best fellow in the world, and to Townsend who really loves you and speaks most affectionately of you I refer for all further particulars both of a public and private nature. Adieu, my dear Fellow, you shall hear from me the moment I arrive in England. God bless you with all good and make you as happy as you desire and deserve, prays most fervently and sincerely, your unalterably devoted

and faithful friend,

CHIP.

To Father, Mother and Sisters, say that Chip thinks, dreams and speaks of them perpetually with the warmest friendship and affection.¹

The business of the Board of Claims which he refers to was in connection with a commission, which had been appointed to receive claims for supplies furnished to the Government, of which commission he was secretary; as the work had not been completed at the time of the evacuation of New York, he went to England to finish it.

At this period Edward Winslow must have found him a delightful companion, as he addresses him as: "My dear, gentle, pleasant tempered, amiable Friend,"² and there are several references to his singing, of which Edward Winslow, the father, wrote: "I have been at two Balls and one concert. At the concert was exceedingly good musick vocal and instrumental, there appeared to be nothing wanting to make it compleat but your voice to have been added to the same; altho' there was a Gent that sang extremely well, I can truly say I had much rather hear you than him, there is something so sprightly in your Singing that affords me more pleasure than almost any

¹ *Winslow Papers*, 152.

² *Ib.*, 138.

other person.”¹ His portrait, painted much later in life, by Gilbert Stuart, shows a man about sixty years old, almost entirely bald except for a fringe of sandy hair over the ears, with a plump face and a ruddy complexion, greyish blue eyes and a very good-natured expression.

On his arrival in England, his business affairs did not progress as fast as he had hoped they would, and after about two months he summed up his experiences as follows:

LONDON, March 7th, 1784.

MY DEAR WINSLOW, — Your letter by Gen’l Fox gave me infinite pleasure; that your situation with him was so pleasant and his friendship so effectually secured are circumstances peculiarly fortunate and agreeable in themselves and I doubt not will hereafter be productive of the most solid advantages. I have attended him almost every day since his arrival and have been of some little service to him in a few trifling instances. The material change in the ministry must have deranged his business and views as much as of all the rest of us. There is not a doubt, he informs me, but there would have been a separate Government at St. John’s had Lord North remained in office, and he candidly confessed he should like to have had the Government. The present administration, even if convinced of the propriety of the measure, dare not adopt it; their continuance in office is so uncertain that they will undertake no business but what turns up in the common routine of office every day. You may easily imagine how disappointed I was upon my arrival to find in what a distracted state this Country was. All my views and prospects in coming to England vanished at once — at least were totally suspended for the present. Sir Guy Carleton went into the Country, my letter to Lord North became of no avail, I could receive no directions with respect to the business of the Board of Claims, and I have been waiting here in London till this day expecting a change in the ministry and some permanent administration to be formed to which I may make an application with respect to my business, for I will not yet despair. Should Fox come in again I think you and I might revive our expectations and hopes and yet see the objects we have so much at heart accomplished. Until this happens or some permanent ministry is appointed, we shall not be able to stir to any purpose in the business of a separate government. . . .²

¹ *Winslow Papers*, 135.

² *Ib.*, 167.

LONDON, 13th March, 1784.

DEAR WINSLOW, — Things begin to wear a much more favorable aspect respecting Nova Scotia. The present ministry begin to find their situation more stable and permanent. Your representations by Mongan have had their effect. A committee of the Council has been sitting on the business two or three days, Sir Guy Carleton has been sent for and is come to Town to give his advice and assistance in the business. Col. Willard, Dr. Seabury, and Major Upham, as Agents for the Loyalists, have presented a memorial stating all the grievances complained of. Lord Sydney has said "Nova Scotia shall be made the envy of all the American States."

I am authorized to say, in confidence, there is no doubt a separate Government at St. John's will be established, and that all your wishes will be carried into effect. Odell, who is with Sir Guy, whispers this to me for your information and desires a most friendly and affectionate remembrance to you. . . . Take care of our Lands, they must now become, very valuable. . . .¹

What is now New Brunswick was at this period a part of Nova Scotia, and the Loyalists, who had taken up land on the St. John River, were endeavoring to have it set off into a separate government. The name originally suggested for this new province was New Ireland,² possibly because there was a New England and a Nova Scotia, but eventually, it was called New Brunswick, in honor of the royal family.

Ward Chipman applied for the office of Attorney General of this new province and wrote Edward Winslow:

LONDON, 6th June, 1784.

This or something else I must obtain immediately, my stock is nearly exhausted, and I have totally failed in all my pursuits and prospects in coming to England. Most heartily regret that I did not go immediately to Halifax from New York. Of all countries in the world this is the worst to be in without a great deal of money and even then has not half the rational social enjoyments and pleasures that our own Country affords, or rather of an American Society such as we have been used to. . . .³

The office of Attorney General was given to Jonathan Bliss, who, curiously enough, did not know to whose influence he was indebted for it, and only learnt of his appointment on reading in the Court Register that Samuel Bliss had been appointed

¹ *Winslow Papers*, 170.² *Ib.*, 174.³ *Ib.*, 209.

Attorney General for New Brunswick. On writing the Colonial Office he found out that he was the man meant.¹ A letter written by Ward Chipman may possibly explain this appointment:

LONDON, 9th July, 1784.

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I confess for myself I am not a little disappointed with respect to the office of Att'y General, tho' Bliss is certainly a very good Fellow, but as he was receiving a pension of £150 per ann. this is saved to Government by appointing him. There will be no salary to the Solicitor General, at least none that will be equivalent to my half pay. I shall therefore depend upon my practice for support. . . . I have failed altogether in my expectations from the Board of Claims, the business of which remains unnoticed to this moment. I have expended nearly all my money, and am heartily sick of this country. We shall at least have a good society and live cheerfully in our new Government if we are poor. Won't my half-pay Agency pursuit come to something in time? . . .²

He was appointed Solicitor General, and sailed for New Brunswick with Thomas Carleton, Governor of the new province, in September, 1784. On his arrival, he decided to settle at St. John, and was admitted to the Bar in February, 1785. Jonathan Sewell, Jr. wrote his father on June 30, 1785: "Mr. Chipman has at length opened his office in this city, and I am happy to inform you has as great a share of business as any practitioner in St. John. Our office hours are from eight in the morning till three in the afternoon; from this time I have the day to myself. . . ."³ Benjamin Marston, writing from St. John in February, 1785, gives us a glimpse of some festivities which took place during his stay there:

Last Wednesday we exhibited at the Hall, under the auspices of General Chippy, a monstrous great Ball and fine supper to about 36 Gentlemen and Ladies such as Governours, Secretaries, Chief Justices, Chancellors and such kind of people with their wives and daughters. We ate, drank, danced, and played cards till about 4 o'clock in the morning. We had everything for supper. It is difficult to conceive how his Gen'lship could collect such a variety of luxurious viands together in such a place as this.⁴

¹ *Judges of New Brunswick*, by Joseph Wilson Lawrence, 155.

² *Winslow Papers*, 214.

³ *Judges of New Brunswick*, 175.

⁴ *Winslow Papers*, 269.

The charter of the city of St. John was prepared by Ward Chipman, and it was at his suggestion that the city was called St. John, instead of St. John's. He was appointed first city recorder in May, 1785, and at the first election to the House of Assembly, held the following winter, he was among the government candidates returned from St. John. After a fiercely contested election, during the course of which a riot occurred in the city, which the soldiers of the garrison had to quell, the opposition candidates won by a small majority, but they neglected to attend the scrutiny which followed, and defend their votes, and a sufficient number were thrown out by the sheriff to give the election to the government candidates.¹

During the preceding summer Jonathan Sewell, Jr. had written: "Mr. Chipman's marriage is, I believe, undoubtedly fixed; he will, I suppose, be married before the winter, as he does not deny now he is courting. Mr. Hazen and his family are particularly attentive to me, more so than I could have expected;"² but the marriage did not take place until October 24, 1786, when Miss Elizabeth Hazen, daughter of the Hon. William Hazen, became Mrs. Chipman. Mr. Sewell, writing his father a little later, said: "I admired her before marriage, but since, I have adored; she is perfect, and calculated to make Mr. Chipman happy."³ Their only child, Ward, later Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, was born the following year.

Judging from a letter he wrote Jonathan Sewell, Jr., who

¹ For further particulars see the *Collections* of the New Brunswick Historical Society, No. 6, 1905, p. 451. The parties at St. John were known as the Upper Cove and Lower Cove, the former representing the more aristocratic element. The Upper Cove candidates were: Jonathan Bliss, Ward Chipman, Christopher Billopp, William Pagan, Stanton Hazard, and John McGeorge. Ward Chipman wrote Edward Winslow on January 4, 1786: "The house met yesterday, only 13 in all, just enough to make a house. Owing to the stupidity of the Lower Cove Candidates in not attending the scrutiny and defending their votes the Sheriff has returned us, but our seats are to be contested by vehement petition." *Winslow Papers*, 323. Dr. James Hannay in his *History of New Brunswick*, I. 155, writes: "The Whole number of votes thus struck off appears to have been eighty-two. . . . No reason was offered for this wholesale proceeding, and the voters were given no opportunity of justifying their votes, which, apparently, were perfectly good. . . . The blame for it (this extremely discreditable transaction) must justly rest on Attorney General Bliss and Solicitor General Chipman, men learned in the law, who profited by it. Sheriff Oliver, no doubt, acted under their instructions." Dr. Hannay neglects to prove his statements.

² *Judges of New Brunswick*, 175.

³ *Ib.*, 178.

after his admission to the bar had removed to Quebec, Ward Chipman did not have enough business to keep him busy, in spite of the fact that he had one of the best law practices in New Brunswick.

ST. JOHN, N. B., 29th October, 1792.

DEAR JONATHAN, — Your letter of 7th July afforded me great pleasure. Your success has been without a parallel in America, and has laid a sure and solid foundation of independence at an early period of life. I am not alarmed by the load of business which is upon your shoulders, as the more business you do and have to do, the more you will be able to do, and perhaps with less fatigue than you would do one-fourth part of it when you might be idle half your time. It is laughable enough for me who never had any method to be preaching to you who do everything by rule. Alas, *Video meliora proboque deteriora sequor*. This, however, is principally because I never yet had business enough to employ me half my time, and this to one of my indolent turn will be a perpetual source of procrastination; while I was a student I could apply myself without intermission, since that I have scarce had business enough to stimulate me to retain what little I then learnt. When my business was lucrative, which was at New York, great fees were received for very little, and without the smallest variety in the objects.¹

At the general election held in 1793, Mr. Chipman lost his seat in the House of Assembly from St. John; his defeat was largely due to his advocacy of Fredericton as the site for the capital of the province, instead of St. John.² He was elected, however, as a representative from the county of Northumberland.³ The reasons for finally selecting Fredericton as the seat of government were, because it was not open to attack from the sea, and also, because being situated some ways inland, it would induce settlers to move up the river and thus help settle the interior of the province. Of this election he wrote to Sewell:

FREDERICTON, N. B., 23rd February, 1793.

MY DEAR JONATHAN, — Here I am once more, to my great mortification, a legislator. The Governor wished me very much I should be in the House again. I offered myself in the city, but Lower Covers, headed by Hardy, were uppermost, and I was distanced by him. I put up in York, but too late, the bulk of the

¹ *Judges of New Brunswick*, 182.

² *Winslow Papers*, 398.

³ *Ib.*, 398.

voters were engaged. I had, however, every respectable one on my side. A party was sent off without my knowledge to Miramichi, where I came in all hollow, without the faintest opposition. My object from the beginning was to get the Speaker's chair, or I would never have become a candidate. A majority of the members are quite under the influence of St. John politicians, so that I find I can be of no service to the public, and most cordially wish I was clear of them, and, like Bliss, enjoying my own fireside. I continue jogging on in the old way; business is as low as ever, and it is with great difficulty I can bring the year about with all my resources. As the country gets on, I think it must become better; this is the only ground of consolation I have. My gout grows less troublesome, one moderate attack in the year is now my quantum. Little Chip is, I assure you, a very fine boy; he is yet but five and a half years old, and has been twice through his accidence — all his own choice, as he is at liberty to go to school or stay at home. Mrs. Chipman is well and speaks of you often with great affection. Adieu, my Dear Jonathan,

WARD CHIPMAN.¹

In 1796, at the suggestion of Jonathan Sewell, Jr., he applied to the British Government for the office of Chief Justice of Upper Canada, and wrote:

ST. JOHN, N. B., 10th April, 1796.

MY DEAR SEWELL, — Accept my kind thanks for letters. I was much agitated at perusing their contents, and knew not for some time what steps to take. I had no hesitation about an application for office of Chief Justice of Upper Canada; if I could suppose there was the smallest chance of success, and even without that I have made use of what interest I have in England, which indeed is very small, being no more than the supposed inclination of Mr. Knox, the agent of this province in London, to serve me. To him I have stated all my pretensions and wishes to succeed to that office, but without any other hope than that a bold step may hold me up for something hereafter, in case an opportunity should offer. I have said nothing to him about a Puisne Judgeship, as I have many doubts from all I can learn of the climate, society and living in Upper Canada, and from a consideration of the sacrifices I must make, and inconveniences submit to by removal, whether it would, upon the whole, be eligible. I have consulted your father, who is delighted with the idea of accompanying me to Canada, in case I could obtain

¹ *Judges of New Brunswick*, 186.

the office of Chief Justice. He peremptorily decides against the idea of accepting a Puisne Judgeship. I will not, I cannot believe that after all my services and the sacrifices for the public, and the exertions I am disposed to make, if there should be an opportunity, that I must linger out a life of mortification and disappointment without a competence for present subsistence or a prospect against any unseen accident. I remain, Ever your friend,

WARD CHIPMAN.¹

This application was unsuccessful, but, about this time, he was chosen counsel on behalf of the Crown in connection with the boundary dispute between New Brunswick and the state of Maine, James Sullivan, Attorney General of Massachusetts, being counsel on behalf of the United States. The Treaty of Peace of 1783 had named the St. Croix River as the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick, but discussion had arisen as to what river was the St. Croix of the treaty; the United States claimed it was the Magaguadavic, and Great Britain that it was the Scoudiac. The Treaty of 1794 referred the matter to commissioners. Mr. Chipman wrote in this connection:

ST. JOHN, N. B., 10 Jan., 1797.

MY DEAR SEWELL, — The Commissioners are to meet in Boston on the second Tuesday in August, when Mrs. Chipman and little Chip will accompany me there. While on this subject, let me say, that I feel very anxious respecting the duties of my present appointment. I am left alone to conduct the business on the part of the British Government against a host of adversaries, Mr. Sullivan, Attorney General of Massachusetts, the American agent, being assisted by a committee of the council and senate of that state, and the best law counsel. Mr. Sullivan's pay as agent is £1,000 sterling per annum. Everything depends upon demonstrating, which I think may be done, that the River Scoudiac, which we claim as the true St. Croix, was originally so named by De Monts in 1604. I have sent to England and all parts of the United States for Champlain, etc., etc. Can you not find some works in Canada that you can buy or borrow for me? Yours faithfully,

WARD CHIPMAN.²

Despite the facts which he mentions in this letter, he demonstrated so conclusively that the Scoudiac was the St. Croix of

¹ *Judges of New Brunswick*, 189.

² *Ib.*, 193.

the treaty of 1783, that he won his case, and the British claims were allowed.¹ He wrote Mr. Sewell: "The question to be decided by the commissioners is a very simple one; but in the course of investigation and discussion of it, the argument has branched out into a very wide field. I hope that you one day may see it, and have patience and curiosity enough to support you in the perusal of it. I claim no other merit than industry; and when I look back, I wonder how I have been able to collect so much on the subject."² Various other matters in connection with the boundary kept the commission in being for two years and nine months, and Mr. Chipman received £960 sterling a year for his services as agent for the British government.

Edward Winslow was appointed secretary of this commission, and not long after his appointment wrote a letter to Jonathan Sewell which gives a rather gloomy picture of his friends fourteen years after their settlement in New Brunswick:

¹ Judge Egbert Benson, one of the American Commissioners, giving his reasons for his decision in favor of the British claims, stated: "The River St. Croix, contemplated by the Treaty, was undoubtedly that so-called in the grant to Sir William Alexander, and in all subsequent acts of Great Britain, and the St. Croix intended by the grant of 1621 to Alexander could not possibly have been any other than that described by Champlain and Lescarbot, the only authors prior to 1621 who had ever mentioned that river." Albert Gallatin wrote: "The British agent demonstrated beyond contradiction that Bone Island (near St. Andrews), a few miles from the mouth of the Scoudiac, was the island of the St. Croix, so-called by De Monts, and on which he had a temporary settlement in 1604-5, and the same which in 1607 was visited by Lescarbot; and also that the river Scoudiac, particularly described by Champlain, who accompanied De Monts, was the same river, first called by Champlain Etchemin River, and afterwards St. Croix." *Judges of New Brunswick*, 195. Dr. Hannay's version is as follows: "The arguments put forward by the agents for the respective countries, were long and laborious, but the ultimate decision was not based on these ponderous terms filled with special pleading. No doubt the agents did as well as was to be expected of men who were mere lawyers, and had no special knowledge of the history of the settlement of Acadia and New England, or of the boundary disputes that had arisen between France and England at that early period. The name St. Croix had been given to the river in 1604, by Champlain when he established a colony of Frenchmen on an island in the St. Croix. Champlain published in his book a plan of this island, showing not only its shape and size, but the locality of all the buildings upon it. The foundations of these buildings still remained in the year 1797, when they were dug up by Thomas Wright, a surveyor, and this evidence, which could not be impeached, settled the matter in favor of the British claim." *History of New Brunswick*, I. 267.

² *Judges of New Brunswick*, 194.

KINGSCLEAR, 14 Jan'y, 1797.

Your letter, my dear Sewell, found me a cripple with the gout in my right arm, which prevented me sooner acknowledging it.

Chipman (I dare say) has wrote you on the subject of our new engagements in the commission for locating the River St. Croix of the Treaty of 1783. You know the cordial friendship between us, and you will conclude that the connexion must render the duty perfectly pleasant.

The office of secretary is not what I originally aimed for. If I had been chosen Umpire I should have acted under every possible restraint. For the duties of the office of secretary I feel myself every way equal; I fear no reflection and will in no degree be responsible for the consequence which may attend the decision. It will be laborious, perhaps not lucrative. One advantage must result both to Chipman and myself: it has taken us from the dreamy path which both of us have been imperceptibly sliding into — obscurity and despair. During the first bustle here we combatted difficulties with alacrity, and we submitted to inconveniences without murmuring. As soon as this was over and the eagerness of expectation had subsided, we saw the whole society sinking into a sort of lethargy. Those who had salaries made their calculations to eat, drink and vegetate to the exact amount of their incomes. Those who had none were saved all the trouble of estimates for they could get nothing either to eat or drink. I belong (nearly) to the latter class. I found myself loaded with titles — overwhelmed with honors, but with little money. I was the proprietor of a tract of land “beautifully situated upon a navigable river and covered with prodigious fine timber.” But the river glided by without material advantage to me, for I could not buy a Boat, and the trees might have stood to eternity for I had hardly credit for an axe. I have dashed at every opening, but a wife, ten children, and the gout have held me fast. Chipman was not quite so badly off: he had saved a little cash, so that he did not feel the weight so soon, but when it fairly rested on his shoulders down he dropped, and it would have grinded the heart of a man of sensibility to have watched his countenance for the last two or three years. The late appointment has revived — nay has regenerated him. It may not be of long continuance, and in a pecuniary view possibly will not be very beneficial, but it is an honourable mark of confidence, and it has brought him into a field where he may exert his talents. The vigor of his mind is unabated and he is industrious almost beyond example. I presume he will secure so much credit to himself by his correct management of this important business that it will lead to something which may render the remainder of his days comfortable.

For myself I cannot anticipate any substantial benefits from the employment, and yet I am highly gratified at it. I am almost ready to exclaim like General Ruggles' Indian, when his friends were preparing the last offices for him: "My dear Brothers, you shan't bury me yet!"¹

To judge from a letter written in 1800, the practice of law was not very remunerative in the early years of the Province, for although Ward Chipman handled most of the important cases in New Brunswick, he had hard work to make both ends meet, and wrote:

ST. JOHN, N. B., 18th July, 1800.

MY DEAR SEWELL, — The Journal of one year would serve to depict my situation every year since you left, with the exception of the time I was employed in my late public agency. Business has, if possible, decreased, and more frequently than otherwise I find myself in debt at the end of the year. I have indulged a hope that my exertions in my late public employments would entitle me to some further attention from the government, but of this I begin to despair. It is not, however, my disposition to despond; my health is fortunately better than it used to be, having by strict regimen and exercise greatly lessened my gouty complaint, and I shall one of these days, if my prospects are not better, boldly dash to try my fortune in some other line, or some other country. Mrs. Chipman and Chip enjoy their health, the latter has grown a stout boy, now 13 years old, and must soon determine what line of life to pursue. I have a brother-in-law at Salem, Mr. Gray,² a merchant in great business, who wishes to take him, and were it not for a reluctance at being separated from him, I should not think it an ineligible way of disposing of him. He is at present all I wish him to be. . . .³

Mr. and Mrs. Chipman made a visit to the Grays in 1804, when their son was at Harvard College, and Ward Chipman wrote from Medford:

MEDFORD, 11 Aug't, 1804.

MY DEAR WINSLOW, — Your several letters have reached me and claim my best thanks; everything in your quarter is interesting to me and becomes daily more and more so, as the remainder of my pilgrimage must be with you. . . . We pass our time as pleasantly

¹ *Winslow Papers*, 709.

² William Gray married Elizabeth Chipman.

³ *Judges of New Brunswick*, 197.

as I expected, but I shall not be sorry when the period proposed for our visit shall have expired — such sameness of amusement, idleness and expense, fatigues and becomes insipid after so long an experience of the calm pleasures of our comparatively solitary life in New Brunswick. . . .¹

The next year, he made an unsuccessful application for the position of British Consul at Boston, and the following letter, written in connection with this subject, is interesting as it shows his loyalty to Great Britain:

ST. JOHN, N. B., 22nd April, 1805.

MY DEAR SEWELL, — Business of every kind is at a standstill here, and it is with great difficulty I have been able to jog on with the strictest economy. Could I have bettered my situation by a removal, I should long ere this have done it, and I am still upon the lookout. My friends have urged me very much to return to the States, but I cannot think of it, but in the character of a British subject. Upon the death of the British Consul, at Boston, the other day, I intimated my wishes to our good friend, Mr. Coffin, now in London, to succeed to this office; but the applications will be numerous and too powerful for me to contend with. I therefore place no reliance upon anything from that quarter. Fortunately my health is much mended; it is now two years since I had any, but a slight return, of gout. Mrs. Chipman also enjoys her health, and desires to be remembered with me to Mrs. Sewell and yourself. Our boy, at Harvard, takes his degree next August. The accounts I receive of him are satisfactory. He is very tall and stout, and has a reputation of being the best scholar in his class. . . .²

On learning of the death of Daniel Bliss, Governor Carleton, in 1806, recommended Ward Chipman for the vacant seat³ in the Provincial Council, to which he was duly appointed, and that autumn, when a second vacancy occurred on the Bench of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, consequent on the death of Judge Allen, he wrote: "In the present instance there happens to be a Gentleman at the Bar, possessed of superior talents, who has been Solicitor General since the foundation of the Court and who it would be an act of injustice to pass over."⁴ Edward Winslow, though not a lawyer, was appointed to fill

¹ *Winslow Papers*, 519.

² *Judges of New Brunswick*, 200.

³ *Winslow Papers*, 547.

⁴ *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society*, No. 6, 1905, p. 478.

the vacancy; in thanking the Earl of Sheffield for his appointment, he wrote: "The Solicitor General (Mr. Chipman) wrote me in the most pointed terms while I was in England, "that in case of a vacancy on the Bench he would not wish to succeed to it," and I communicated his letter to Governor Carleton then at Bath, before I had any idea of applying for the office myself . . ." ¹ The reason Ward Chipman did not care for this office seems to have been, that the salary was only £300 sterling a year. The salary of the Judges was increased in 1808, but at that time there was no vacancy on the Bench, and his income was very small, as the following letter shows:

ST. JOHN, N. B., 28th October, 1808.

MY DEAR SEWELL, — If something does not turn up here for my relief, I see not how I am to remain; business is at a lower ebb than ever. My whole income does not exceed £200 per annum; and this, after thirty-four years at the Bar, is a cruel situation to remain in. It is true, that the salaries of our Judges have lately been increased — the Chief Justice to £700 sterling, and the Puisne Judges to £500 sterling per annum; but there is at present no vacancy, and even if there should be one, little chance of succeeding to it, when men without any professional education, as in the late instance of our friend Winslow, are thrust into it. Upham is now in England, and has been in so ill health that our friend, T. A. Coffin, has advised me to send a memorial, on the contingency of his death, which the President, General Hunter, has very kindly forwarded with recommendatory letters to the Secretary of State; but after so many disappointments as I have experienced in life, I depend upon nothing, and am ready for almost any change. . . . ²

Both Chief Justice Ludlow and Judge Upham died that fall, and though Ward Chipman was unsuccessful in his application for the vacant seat of the Chief Justice, he was appointed a Puisne Judge. The members of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, as now constituted, were as follows: Chief Justice, Jonathan Bliss, Puisne Judges, John Saunders, Edward Winslow and Ward Chipman. Upon receipt of the news of his appointment, he wrote Judge Winslow a letter which shows that his practice must have increased since he wrote Mr. Sewell:

¹ *Winslow Papers*, 587.

² *Judges of New Brunswick*, 201.

ST. JOHN, 2d June, 1809.

MY DEAR WINSLOW, —Altho' my situation in point of income will not for the present be bettered by my appointment to the Bench, yet upon the whole I am satisfied with it as I consider it as a permanent provision for life, and a relief from the corroding and unpleasant cares and business of a profession in which there is so little satisfaction in this country. The new Chief Justice will I presume make his arrangements as soon as he conveniently can for a removal to Fredericton. I conceive it absolutely necessary that there should be one Judge in the City and this will of course be my post. . . .¹

Judge Winslow, writing to his son, made the following comments on the new appointments: "My situation is rendered much more eligible by the introduction of Mr. Bliss and Mr. Chipman on the Bench. Mr. Bliss (the Chief Justice) has purchas'd Lyman's house, and I dare say will make a pleasant addition to our Society. Chipman will remain at St. John (of course), he is perfectly reconciled to this arrangement. Indeed I think it's better for him than if he had been Chief Justice for then he must have removed to Fredericton." ²

Under the terms of Articles IV and V of the Treaty of Ghent, signed December 24, 1814, a commission was to be appointed to determine to which country the islands in Passamaquoddy Bay belonged, also to determine the point lying due North from the source of the St. Croix River, and designated in the former treaty as the Northwest Angle of Nova Scotia, and that part of the boundary line, between the dominions of the two Powers, between the source of the St. Croix River and the intersection of the Iroquois River, as the upper stretch of the St. Lawrence was designated, by the 45th degree of North latitude. Judge Chipman applied for the position of agent on behalf of the Crown on this commission, and, because of his knowledge and experience gained on the earlier commission, was appointed. As he was now sixty-one years old, he asked that his son might be associated with him as agent, with full power to act jointly or separately, but without additional expense to the government; this request was granted, and the

¹ *Winslow Papers*, 637. Very few of Mr. Chipman's letters, written after this date, have been published, and I have not had the opportunity of examining his papers, many of which are either in the Canadian Archives or in the possession of Ward C. Hazen, Esq., at Moncton, N. B.

² *Winslow Papers*, 639.

duties involved in connection with this commission were shared by the younger Chipman.

In 1823, Judge Chipman sent a memorial to the British Government asking to be retired from the Bench on a pension, as his duties required more strength than he possessed, and he had no adequate means of support other than his salary. Shortly after he wrote this petition, Major General George Stracey Smyth, Lieutenant Governor and Commander-in-Chief of New Brunswick, died, and it became the duty of the senior member of the Council to administer the government until his successor should be appointed. A meeting of the Council, at which six members were present, was held at Fredericton on April 1, 1823, and a letter from George Leonard, the senior member, was read, stating that his age and infirmities rendered it impossible for him to undertake the administration of the government, and hoping a more competent member might fill his place. The next in succession on the list of councillors, Hon. Christopher Billopp, wrote he would undertake the administration of the government, and requested a meeting of the Council at St. John as early as practicable, as he did not find it convenient to go to Fredericton. As Colonel Billopp had not attended any meetings of the Council for years, and was in his eighty-sixth year, he hardly seems to have been the man for this position. The Council was evidently of this opinion,¹ and as the King's instructions required that the person to administer the government should be sworn in at Fredericton, and the exigencies of the government admitted of no delay, it decided, unanimously, that the next member in succession on the list of Councillors, who was Ward Chipman, should assume the administration of the government. Colonel Billopp promptly wrote a letter of protest, to which Mr. Chipman replied, that the proceedings of the Council, which had been unanimously adopted, had been transmitted to England, and until an answer was received from the British Government, he would continue to discharge the duties of administrator of the government of the province. While the British Government acknowledged the right of Christopher Billopp, as senior Councillor, to the office of President and Commander-in-Chief, on

¹ My account of this incident follows that given in *Judges of New Brunswick*, 212 *et seq.*

the death of the Governor, it declined to interfere with the action of the Council in swearing in Ward Chipman as President and Commander-in-Chief,¹ and he held this position until his death, which occurred at Fredericton, on February 9, 1824, after a few days' illness.

RETURN OF THE TRUMBULL PAPERS.

In October, 1920, the Council of the Society appointed a committee, consisting of Henry Cabot Lodge, James Ford Rhodes, Arthur Lord, and Worthington Chauncey Ford, to consider the question of returning to the State of Connecticut the papers of Jonathan Trumbull, which had been in the possession of the Society since 1795. The Committee reported to the Council on January 12, 1921, and the recommendations made were accepted by it, to be reported to the Society. This report, sent to each member of the Society in January, was as follows:

The Committee appointed to consider a proposal to return the Papers of Jonathan Trumbull to the State of Connecticut reports as follows:

The papers came to the Society in the following manner: April, 1795, the Society requested Dr. Jeremy Belknap to go to Lebanon, Connecticut, "for the purpose of inspecting the papers of the late Governor Trumbull."² He made the journey in July, and remained at Lebanon four days. In December the "chests and boxes" of papers arrived in Boston.³ They were arranged, listed and bound in twenty-three volumes, one of which was lost by fire in 1825. Fifty years after their receipt — in May, 1845 — the Connecticut legis-

¹ At the meeting of the Council held on April, 1, 1823, Chief Justice Saunders, Judge John Murray Bliss, Judge Ward Chipman, Samuel Denny Street, Anthony Lockwood, and George Shore were present. Dr. Hannay, in his *History of New Brunswick*, I. 394, after condemning the proceedings of the Council, says: "Col. Billopp appealed to the Colonial office, and despatches were afterwards received from the home authorities condemning the conduct of the Council and justifying his claims to the office of administrator. These despatches were suppressed by the Council, and no mention of them is to be found on its files except incidentally." Colonel Billopp received his answer from the home authorities before February 21, 1824, when Judge John Murray Bliss became administrator (see *ib.*, 396); if the despatches mentioned were received by the Council prior to the death of Ward Chipman, it is difficult to see how he remained administrator, unless the British Government declined to interfere with the action of the Council.

² *Proceedings*, I. 83.

³ *Ib.*, 85

lature passed a resolution requesting the Governor to take such measures as might be proper and expedient to obtain possession of the papers, and in the preamble recited that

"It is understood and believed by the General Assembly now in session, that numerous official letters and valuable correspondence intimately connected with executive and legislative acts of this State, during an important and interesting period of its history, was collected by His Excellency Governor Trumbull, during his administration, and which, in the opinion of this Assembly, ought to have been deposited in the office of the Secretary of this State, but are now in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and, it is proper and desirable that said documents, &c., be obtained from said Society and deposited with the Secretary of this State."¹

On receiving this resolution the Society appointed, September, 1845, a committee, composed of the President [Mr. Savage], Josiah Quincy and Isaac P. Davis, to report. A report was presented in December, but after some discussion thereupon it was recommitted to the same committee. At the meeting of January, 1846, a new draft of a report was accepted and was sent to Connecticut. Its important features are: (1) that Governor Trumbull would not have removed from the seat of government to Lebanon papers withdrawn from the public archives of the State; (2) that the papers had remained at Lebanon for ten years after the Governor's death, "in possession of his family," and were delivered "without distinction between one part and another" to the Society in the name of the family, as a donation to the Society; (3) the papers were regarded by the Governor and by his family afterwards, "as his private property"; (4) that it had been the intention of the Governor to "preserve the collection for some public institution"; and (5) that no claim adverse to the property of the Society had been "ever supposed or thought of." On this showing, and from an examination of the papers the committee concluded that the "assumption" of the Connecticut legislature was mistaken, and it recommended that "the trust of this Society in preservation of the papers usually called the 'Trumbull Papers' be ever sacredly fulfilled."²

In reply the Connecticut authorities showed: that it had been the prevailing usage for public documents to remain with the holders of office and their successors [families]; that the Assembly in 1770 had appointed two agents (one of them a son of Governor Trumbull) to collect "all public and other papers relating to the affairs of this Colony which properly belonged to the Colony, in whose custody soever the same might be found, except those in the hands of his

¹ *Proceedings*, II. 322 n.

² *Ib.*, II. 332 n.

Honor the present Governor;" and in 1771 the Assembly of Connecticut had desired the Governor [Trumbull] "to collect all the public letters and papers which may hereafter in any way affect the interests of this Colony."¹

In May, 1846, this communication was referred to the same committee of the Society, but Mr. Davis asked to be excused, and F. C. Gray was named in his stead. A report was presented in November. It rested on "the simple fact that these papers have been in the undisputed possession of this Society for more than half a century" and this "is of itself a sufficient answer to such a claim" [as that of Connecticut]; and that the Society could not break or alter the "trust" implied in accepting the gift from the Trumbull family — "at any rate it is not for this Society to call in question the right to these papers, on the part of those from whom it thus holds them in trust."²

The following considerations are presented:

1. The papers are of a public character and do not contain private papers of the Trumbull family. They are such as would constitute the records of the colony and state, and the donor, David Trumbull, describes them as "the most important official papers which passed through his (the Governor's) hands."

2. They are not confined to the governorship of Trumbull, but contain papers of his predecessors in office, and no other papers of a like character are known to exist. The presumption is that they, as well as the Trumbull papers, were collected under the resolutions of the General Assembly.

3. No colony or state then understood the keeping of official papers, and the office-holder took away with him the records of his service. This was the practice in England as well as in America, and many examples may be named of private possession of public files — Blathwayt, Dinwiddie, Wentworth, Colden, Washington, Hamilton and Weare being instances.

4. No properly guarded place of deposit for such collections apparently then existed in Connecticut, and this Society offered the best at the time. The assumption that, other things being equal, Governor Trumbull would have selected a public institution outside of Connecticut is not supported by any evidence.

5. In ten years the papers have not been consulted more than half a dozen times by anyone not making a journey from Hartford to see them. They have little relation to Massachusetts history and the Society has published from them all that it ever will. They are not essential to its uses or purposes.

¹ *Proceedings*, 343 n.

² *Ib.* 357 n.

6. These papers are not now placed where they would first be sought and their usefulness is diminished by being away from the related material.

7. In its State Library Connecticut has a building, one of the safest and best equipped in the country. There the papers will be better cared for and more conveniently used than they can be here. Thus the conditions existing at the time the papers were given to the Society have entirely changed.

Your Committee feel that the time has come when these papers can and should be returned to the State of Connecticut, in full recognition that they are properly a part of the public records of Connecticut. Such a return, made with fitting public ceremony, will be in itself a striking example of generosity and justice on the part of the Society. It will be a step in the right direction of placing collections of papers where they belong, and where the best use can be made of them.

It is understood that the suggestion concerns only the twenty-two bound volumes of "Trumbull Papers," a volume of military returns, another of letters of William Samuel Johnson to the Governor of Connecticut, and a volume of letters addressed to the Governor of Connecticut and signed by Washington, evidently a part of the Connecticut collections, and will not apply to any other collection or papers in the Society.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY CABOT LODGE

JAMES FORD RHODES

ARTHUR LORD

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD

The Society accepted the report and referred the question of transferring the papers back to the Council, which placed the arrangements to be made in the hands of the Committee making the report. On April 21 notice was sent to the Governor of Connecticut of the action of the Society and of its readiness to give the Trumbull papers to an accredited representative of the state. On May 5 Mr. George S. Godard, State Librarian of Connecticut, came in person to the Society and formally received the manuscripts, thus completing the act of transfer. The Governor of Connecticut, Hon. Everett J. Lake, acknowledged the letter of the Society as follows:

STATE OF CONNECTICUT
Executive Chambers
Hartford, May 4th, 1921

DEAR SIR:

It is with very great appreciation and pleasure that I received a notice, given me in your letter of April 21st, of the very generous gift of the Massachusetts Historical Society to Connecticut. I have been away from my office recently and this fact explains why the letter of your honorable committee was not earlier acknowledged.

I have been much interested in reviewing the report of the committee of the Council of your Society relating to these papers of Jonathan Trumbull, and I can assure you that the thoughtful and generous spirit reflected in the report and which has led to the offer of return of these papers to Connecticut will be received by every one here in Connecticut with the appreciation and gratitude which the offer deserves.

We are proud of our new State Library and believe that its facilities for the safe preservation of old and valuable records are unexcelled, and we feel that this voluntary and valuable gift of the Massachusetts Society will tend to induce other bodies and individuals to place original documents relating to Connecticut in the library as a safe depository where such papers may be easily available and reviewed with appreciation from time to time by the people of Connecticut and elsewhere.

Let me convey to your committee and to the Society, through you, my renewed thanks on behalf of the State of Connecticut and its people for these original papers. I am taking the matter up with Mr. George S. Godard, our State Librarian, with the suggestion that he arrange with you for a means of transporting these volumes to Connecticut in a safe way and in a manner that will be acceptable to your Society.

When this has been arranged, I have in mind to act upon the very excellent suggestion made by your committee that the event of the return of these papers be marked by some fitting and appropriate ceremony for I know that the people of Connecticut will desire and approve of this method of evidencing their appreciation of the generosity of your Society in making this very valuable gift to our State.

Very truly yours,

EVERETT J. LAKE,
Governor.

Hon. Worthington C. Ford
Massachusetts Historical Society

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. FARLOW, F. R. HART, STIMSON, and THAYER.

MEMOIR

OF

EDWARD HENRY HALL

By CHARLES PELHAM GREENOUGH

Edward Henry Hall was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, April 16, 1831, and died in Cambridge, Massachusetts, after a short illness resulting in pneumonia, on February 22, 1912.

He was the son of the Reverend Edward Brooks Hall, who was born in Medford, September, 1800, was graduated from Harvard College in 1820, and held parishes at Northampton, Cincinnati, and lastly at Providence, Rhode Island, from 1832 to 1866. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard College in 1848 and was one of the most distinguished Unitarian clergymen in the United States. He was the son of Nathaniel Hall, who married Joanna Cotton Brooks, a direct descendant of Joanna, the daughter of the Reverend John Cotton, the eminent assistant of the Reverend John Wilson and the perhaps too enthusiastic endorser of the extreme Calvinistic doctrines. He was, however, an earnest and eloquent preacher and a man of great learning.

Edward Henry Hall's grandfather on his mother's side was the Reverend Henry Ware the elder, Professor of Divinity at Harvard College for nearly forty years and one of the leaders of thought of his generation. Edward Henry's choice of a profession and his mental characteristics, if we believe in heredity, were apparently settled for him in his cradle. He also showed throughout his life many of the admirable qualities of his clerical ancestors, and among them his thorough scholarship, his independence in thought and action, his power as a preacher, his lofty integrity, and the courage of his convictions. He prepared for college in the Providence High School, was admitted to Harvard College in 1847, and was graduated in



MHS

Edward N. Hall

1851, a classmate of Dr. Samuel A. Green, with whom he retained close intimacy until his death, and also of Professor William W. Goodwin, George O. Shattuck, Augustus T. Perkins, Henry W. Haynes, Charles F. Dunbar, and Francis W. Palfrey, all fellow members of this Society. He studied at the Harvard Divinity School, and was graduated in 1855. In 1859 he was ordained the pastor of a Unitarian parish in Plymouth, Massachusetts, and served there until 1867.

In September, 1862, he volunteered for service in the Army and was elected Chaplain of the Forty-Fourth Massachusetts Regiment of Volunteers and served with credit and with the affection and respect of the regiment in its various campaigns until June, 1863, when his term of service expired.

In 1869 he was called to preside over the Church of the Second Parish (Unitarian) at Worcester, Massachusetts, and remained there for thirteen years, when he accepted a call to the First Parish Church at Cambridge. His only reason for leaving the church at Worcester was because he felt strongly that no clergyman should stay more than ten years in the same parish, believing that he could not sustain the effort of preparing sermons on subjects which would have a fresh interest or be of sufficient worth to satisfy an intelligent congregation, and as a general principle perhaps he was right. What his congregation felt with regard to his resignation and the results of his service as the pastor in Worcester, are adequately described in the words of his successor, the Reverend Austin S. Garver, delivered in a Memorial Address upon the death of Mr. Hall in 1912:

When Mr. Hall came to this Parish in 1869, at the age of thirty-seven, he was in the full maturity of his powers. He had made his youthful experiments in thought and life, if indeed there were any that can be so described, in a previous pastorate with the First Parish of Plymouth. Steeped in the finest New England traditions, gifted with a penetrating and resolute mind, trained in the best schools, and enriched by an experience of tremendous realities as Chaplain of the Forty-Fourth Massachusetts Regiment in the Civil War, he was well equipped for the difficult duties that lay before him. . . . Mr. Hall was fortunate in having a people who were accustomed to think and weigh evidence, and little by little his impressive utterance had its effect and drew men to his side in loyal and admiring support. Of this phase of his life and its success

it is sufficient to add that when at the end of thirteen years he decided to accept the invitation of the First Parish in Cambridge, he left a sorrowing church behind him: he went away in spite of the entreaties and amid the tears of all, old and young.

In 1882 he accepted a call to the First Parish Church of Cambridge (Unitarian) as successor to the Reverend Francis G. Peabody, where he served to the entire satisfaction of his congregation until 1893, when he resigned. As a mark of the affection and respect of the people of that Parish, a room in the Parish House has been reserved and is still kept as a memorial of his ministration, and in it are preserved his books, letters, and other relics and an excellent portrait.

One of his closest friends, the Rev. James de Normandie, described his characteristics in these words:

Hall combined the rare qualities of a very radical thinker in theology and an unbiassed critic, with great devotion and reverence for the essentials in religion. He worked "without haste and without rest" and always held himself to the highest ideals of public and private life and no one could be more severe against everything which seemed to him to have the least departure from truthfulness and honor. . . .

Of great refinement and sensitiveness, he could ill bear any coarseness or sensationalism or charlatanism, or any departure from the exact line of honor, in scholarship or in life. Never was one who had a wider sympathy or a deeper interest or a broader fellowship with those who cherished fine ideals. He gave the impression of one who lived on the heights. He had a rare union of gentleness and strength. He was a rare example of culture, refinement, scholarship, and spiritualmindedness so marked among the early leaders of Unitarianism in New England.

He published the following theological works: *Orthodoxy and Heresy in the Christian Church*; *Lessons on the Life of St. Paul*; *Papias and his Contemporaries*; *Paul the Apostle*, and various discourses and essays on church history and articles in the church publications, distinguished for their accuracy and thoroughness and their breadth of vision.

He was elected a member of this Society in December, 1899, and was often present at its meetings and took part in its proceedings. He served on several committees and was a member of the Council, 1907-1909. He prepared a memoir of

Charles F. Dunbar and read a paper on Civil War Pensions in 1909, a subject in which he was deeply interested and which he felt was a lasting disgrace to his country. He was also a member of the Colonial Society, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Massachusetts Reform Club, the American Antiquarian Society, the American Unitarian Society, the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, the Worcester Art Society, and the Worcester School Company.

After his resignation of his Cambridge parish he spent the remaining years of his life in a quiet and dignified leisure, in extensive travels in Europe, in chosen studies, and in the companionship of a large circle of close friends. He occasionally preached and officiated at marriages and funerals of his former parishioners. He also delivered a series of lectures on the Christian Doctrines in the Harvard Divinity School in 1899-1900.

Another of his old friends describes his life in retirement:

His manner was always a little formal in the old-fashioned way, so that some thought him cold and unsympathetic, but they were never those who knew him well. His sympathies were quick and deep and tender, too deep for easy expression, but inexhaustible in their practical personal application. His preaching was open to the same criticism of formality and coldness, but it was marked by clearness of thought and directness of purpose. . . . Though he never married he always kept up a household of his own, exercising an abundant hospitality, surrounding himself with young people and entering into their interests with singular understanding. He was very fond of children and each year gave them a party on the birthday of a favorite collie dog, and they understood him and were devoted to him.

Perhaps the condensed description of his career by President Eliot when the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by Harvard College in 1902 is a fair expression of his life and character: "An Army Chaplain in the Civil War, pastor, preacher, candid student of early Christian History, independent and outspoken citizen."